

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT ESSAY BY WILLIAM SAFIRE THURSDAY
APRIL 13 NEW YORK TIMES HEADED "READING ARBATOV'S MIND."

2. WASHINGTON, APRIL 12--AT THE SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT OF
1972, GEORGI ARBATOV--NOW THE KREMLIN'S LEADING AMERICAN-
OLOGIST--WROTE SOME OF THE TOASTS FOR THE RUSSIANS, AND I
WROTE SOME OF THE TOASTS FOR THE AMERICANS. HERE IS WHAT I
IMAGINE IS GOING THROUGH GEORGI'S HEAD RIGHT NO'.

3. AS IS WELL KNOWN, A POWER STRUGGLE IS TAKING PLACE FOR
THE FOREIGN POLICY SOUL OF PRESIDENT CARTER. THAT EXPLAINS
THE VACILLATION AND CONFUSION FROM WASHINGTON.

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4. MY ANALYSIS IS THAT TWO FACTIONS ARE CONTENDING, USING
TYPICALLY AMERICAN LIGHTHEARTED LABELS: THE "WOODY WOOD-
PECKER FACTION," LED BY ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI AND A FEW DIE-
HARD COLD WARRIORS WHO OBJECT TO THE LEGITIMATE EXPANSION
OF SOVIET POWER, VERSUS THE "MR. SOFTEE FACTION," OSTENSIBLY
LED BY SECRETARY VANCE AND PAUL WARNKE BUT MASTERMINDED BY
PROF. MARSHALL SHULMAN, MY COUNTERPART AS CHIEF SOVIETOLO-

GIST.

5. THE FACTIONS CLASHED FIRST OVER THE "TOUGH" SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT AT WAKE FOREST LAST MONTH, WHICH WOODPECKER INSISTED WAS A "DEFENSE SPEECH" AND WOULD NOT SUBMIT FOR CLEARANCE TO SOFTEE AT STATE.

6. AFTER MR. CARTER DELIVERED THAT SPEECH, AND BEFORE WE HAD A CHANCE TO DENOUNCE IT, SOFTEE CALLED MINISTER/COUNSELOR BESSMERTNYKH AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON TO SAY HE HOPED THE ENTIRE TEXT WOULD BE TRANSMITTED AND NOT JUST THE HARD-LINE PARTS. WE KNEW HE WAS SIGNALING THAT THE SPEECH HAD BEEN MEANT FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION ONLY, AND SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AS AN EXPRESSION OF FOREIGN POLICY. AN AMAZING CALL, AND APPROVED IN ADVANCE BY MR. VANCE.

7. A "MEMCON" OF THAT EVIDENCE OF A SPLIT IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS NOW DOING THE ROUNDS OF THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT. I HATE TO THINK WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF I CALLED THE U.S. EMBASSY IN MOSCOW TO HINT THAT A BREZHNEV SPEECH DID NOT MEAN WHAT IT SAID.

8. THE SECOND CLASH OF FACTIONS THAT LEADS ME TO BELIEVE THE CONFUSION IS GENUINE TOOK PLACE ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE AFTER THE CARTER TRIP TO AFRICA. IT CONCERNED THE NEUTRON UNCLASSIFIED

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BOMB, WHICH COULD HELP STOP THE IMMEDIATE CONQUEST OF EUROPE BY SOVIET TANKS, AND IS THUS NOT IN THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE.

9. I KNEW THAT MR. CARTER WOULD NOT PRODUCE THAT WEAPON EVER SINCE LATE FEBRUARY, WHEN THE U.S. SUDDENLY CANCELED A NATO MEETING. BUT MR. CARTER'S RESPONSE TO OUR HIGH-POWERED PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN--AND EVIDENCE OF THE FACTIONAL SPLIT--CAME IN THE "SECRET" CABLE SENT BY THE MR. SOFTEE FACTION TO AIR FORCE ONE WHILE MR. CARTER WAS IN AFRICA. IT SUGGESTED A LETTER BE SENT TO MR. BREZHNEV SAYING:

10. "I HAVE DECIDED THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT PROCEED WITH PRODUCTION OF THE REDUCED-BLAST ENHANCED-RADIATION WARHEAD. A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT TO THIS EFFECT WILL BE MADE SHORTLY. (SILLY OF THE WHITE HOUSE TO PRETEND LATER THAT THE DECISION HAD NOT BEEN MADE.) I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO FOSTER A GENERAL CLIMATE PROPITIOUS TO ARMS CONTROL AND CONDUCIVE TO MUTUAL RESTRAINT."

11. THE DRAFT LETTER URGED BY THE MR. SOFTEE FACTION CONTINUED: "THE DECISION WAS TAKEN BY ME PERSONALLY....

FRANKLY, IT WAS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WHICH SPREAD FUNDAMENTAL MISCONCEPTIONS CONCERNING THE NATURE OF AND POTENTIAL ROLE OF THE ERW. (BUT IT WORKED.) MY DECISION WAS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY DISTURBING MILITARY TRENDS IN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY THE LARGE AND CONSTANTLY IMPROVING SOVIET OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY."

12. THE LINEUP OF THE FACTIONS ON SENDING THAT LETTER FOLLOWED: "N.S.C. HAS NOT SEEN THE TEXT AND HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF THE IDEA. GELB ALSO HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE NEED FOR SUCH A COMMUNICATION. SHULMAN THINKS IT NEEDS TO BE SENT."

13. THE LETTER TO BREZHNEV WAS NEVER SENT, OF COURSE,
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BECAUSE BOTH FACTIONS KNEW ABOUT THE DRAFT. THE ONLY ACTIONS TAKEN ARE WHEN ONE FACTION MOVES BY ITSELF--AS IN THE HARD-LINE WAKE FOREST SPEECH BY THE WOODPECKERS, OR THE DON'T-GET-US-WRONG CALL TO OUR EMBASSY BY THE SOFTEES.

14. HOW THEN, CAN WE IN THE KREMLIN EXPLOIT THIS DISARRAY. HOW CAN WE HELP THE SOFTEES TRIUMPH OVER THE WOODPECKERS IN THE BATTLE FOR CARTER'S MIND? THE ANSWER: SOVIET FIRMNESS. INSTEAD OF DISCOURAGING THE SOFTEES, IT GOADS THEM TO GREATER CONCESSIONS. THEY CANCELED THE B-I BOMBER, LIMITED THEIR CRUISE MISSILES, AND WE HELD FIRM: AS A RESULT, THEY CANCELED THEIR NEUTRON BOMB.

15. NEXT WEEK, WHEN MR. VANCE AND MR. WARNKE COME TO MOSCOW, WE WILL WELCOME THEM AS LEADERS OF THE SOFTEE FACTION AND SEE WHAT THEY WILL DO FOR US LATELY. I WILL KEEP AN EYE ON REGINALD BARTHOLOMEW, THE WOODPECKER-SPY PLANTED IN THE U.S. GROUP.

16. WE ARE AT A CROSSROADS OF DETENTE. AS I TOLD THE AMERICAN SPEECHWRITER AT THE '72 SUMMIT, I CAN HEAR THE FOOTSTEPS OF HISTORY. IF WE CAN RESTRAIN THE WOODPECKERS AND SEDUCE THE SOFTEES, WE WILL MAKE MR. CARTER THE BEST U.S. PRESIDENT THE SOVIET UNION HAS EVER HAD. CHRISTOPHER

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